



# PICKING UP THE PIECES OF CHAOS

AFFONSO ROMANO DE SANT'ANNA - BRAZIL

TO PICK UP THE PIECES OF CHAOS  
AS ONE PICKS THE CACTUS  
IN THE DESERT

- AS IF IT WERE A FLOWER

TO PICK UP THE REMAINS AND BONES  
OF UTOPIA

AS FROM DOOR TO DOOR  
THE GARBAGE MAN COLLECTS  
LEFTOVERS FROM A FRIGID FEAST  
AND DESTITUTE AT DUSK  
WARMS HIMSELF AT THE BONFIRE BUILT  
WITH THE RUBBLE OF THE DAY.

TO PICK OUT THE TRUTH CONTAINED  
IN EVERY HANDFUL  
LIKE THE BEGGAR PICKS AT FLEAS  
IN THE HAIR

— OF A DOG-EAT-DOG DAY.

TO CUT UP SENSE  
LIKE THE TAILOR-ARTIST,  
TO SEW IT INSIDE OUT  
WITH THE INVISIBLE SEAM  
SHOWING.

LIKE THE ARCHEOLOGIST  
GATHERS FRAGMENTS,  
AS IF ONE MIGHT BEG  
THE WIND FOR THE FLOWERS  
DISPETALLED BY TIME

TO PICK UP THE PIECES OF DIONYSUS  
AND BACCHUS, IN THE ANCIENT MOSAIC  
AND IN THE RAISED EMPTY CUP  
TO DRINK THE WINE  
OR SHED BLOOD.

TO PICK UP THE PIECES OF ORPHEUS BROKEN  
BY THE PASSION OF THE BACCHICS  
AND WITH PROMETHEUS RESTORE  
THE LIVER

— TO HOW IT WAS BEFORE.

TO PICK UP WORDS THAT CUT  
FROM THE RIVER OF INSTANT DARK  
AND DISCOVER IN THESE ROCKS  
THE DIAMOND'S SPARK.

IS IT A PUZZLE?

THEN  
WITH PUZZLED MINDS WE WILL  
LEAVE OUR EMOTIONS ENGRAVED  
ON THE WALLS OF NOTHING

PIECES OF ME  
PIECES OF NO  
PIECES OF YES  
PIECES OF BEFORE  
PIECES OF THE END.

IT IS NOT INSIDE  
NOR OUTSIDE  
ALTHOUGH IT'S INSIDE AND OUT  
IN THE NEVER AND IN THE ALWAYS  
THAT VIOLENTLY WE ARE  
BY OUR SENSE DEFLOWERED.

TO PICK UP THE PIECES  
OF THE PRESENT AND OF DAYS PAST  
TO FACE THE NIGHT  
THROUGH AURORA'S STAINED GLASS.

“THE KEY FOR THE CULTURE TO MEET WITH THE SOCIAL, THERE ARE TWO BASIC RULES: ONE IS SOLIDARITY IN SPACE - SOLIDARITY IN SPACE IS CALLED PARTICIPATION; THE SECOND ONE IS SOLIDARITY IN TIME - THAT IS CALLED PARTICIPATION AND LOOKING FORWARD. WHEN YOU COMBINE THEM, YOU OPEN THE WAY TO INNOVATION, TO CREATIVITY, TO THE DEFENSE OF DIGNITY AND MANY OTHER ELEMENTS.”

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Madji Elmadjra, in the debate Culture as a key factor for the survival of human reasoning

“AS INHABITANTS OF A PERIPHERAL CONTINENT, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR INSTRUMENTS FOR CULTURAL PERFORMANCE ARE UNEQUAL”

Today, when we look at central Africa, when we look at my country, what do we find? There are men that we hear about frequently because there are conflicts, because there are wars, because there is this or that, and I really must say that our politicians, those that decide, do not make a priority out of the development of culture; therefore, due to this, the environment is not ideal so that economically what we produce can progress, and when we speak of cultural differences, of cultural diversities and of economic development, we are unhappily obliged to see this in an exogenous way, or rather, to consider how, starting from what exists within the country, we may go to the international sphere and spread our music in other markets, because as for the internal market itself, when the fact is pointed out that the salary of employees, for example, is delayed twenty-four months, then you can understand that it is difficult for an autochthonous person to consecrate a part of what he earns to music and to entertainment.

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Regis Sissoko, in the debate Cultural differences as the motor of economic development

As inhabitants of a peripheral continent, we must recognize that our instruments for cultural performance are unequal. They become even more so in the light of the dichotomy from which we start out: the seriousness with which problems with economic policy are faced and the superficiality with which problems of a cultural nature are confronted. Recognizing this is only the first step in an enterprise that we cannot know where it will end.

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Luiz Costa Lima, in the debate Questions about a peripheral culture

The information technologies offer people unprecedented perspectives for creating and sharing cultural contents and ideas, on a worldwide scale and at low cost. This experience demonstrates that diversity may stir curiosity, inspire initiative and make a useful contribution to the communities that seek to improve their economies, especially by using the extraordinary means that the Information Society has at its disposal.

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Okinawa Charter - Meeting of G8 Leaders, Okinawa, July 2000

When it comes to development, to me the best definition I've met in my life of development is the one that was given by Rene Maheu, director general of UNESCO, in 1965 in Vienna, at the World Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for Development. And he said in a few words: *“Le développement est la science devenue culture”* - Development is when science becomes the culture. It means when you have integrated; it means when the values carried by science become transposed, and not carried, by your cultural system; it means when your mental structures have been affected; it means when your values have been reorganized, taking into account what science brings you as fact, as reality, as a method of thinking.

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Madji Elmadjra, in the Culture as a key factor for the survival of human reasoning debate

“AND THE MAN WITHOUT CULTURE IS NOT WORTH ANYTHING. (...)”

(...) Many things, however, were developed in the hinterland of the country that had their origin in Angola; we realized that we had a culture, that we had a civilization, that we had music, that we had theater, that we had dances, that we had proverbs and that we had so many other things that identify the Angolan people of which I am part. And, subsequently, we realized that it was possible, through activities in the hinterland of the land of origin, to even defend mainly the personality of the Africans from Angola with the Portuguese language itself, which we have enriched through current vocabulary forms, through slang, through colloquialisms and through the languages of Angola.

(...) I started to sing peace, liberty, the emancipation of men and women, exactly because this has to do with something that is very consistent and this consistency is man's dignity. And the man without culture is not worth anything.

(...) We are (without wanting to, of course) contributing to the approximation of persons, and in this approximation each one brings what is peculiar to him; and what is peculiar to me, and I say this emphatically, is exactly that music that was despised during the colonial period, despised in the period of modernism, because we made a mixture and they wanted to call this “worldization.” If this is how we got to “worldization,” then we got in through the back door. And I want us to get through the front door with our peculiarities, with our personalities and with our way of being. And this our way of being passes principally through our natural expression, the way of laughing, of talking, of communicating with people and everything that is about us. (...)

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Bonga, in the debate Freedom of the Arts and Social Responsibility

CHILDREN WELL NOURISHED AND INVOLVED IN PROMISING EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES?  
WHEN WILL WE SEE THE WORLD'S

“THIS EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATES THAT DIVERSITY MAY STIR CURIOSITY, INSPIRE INITIATIVE AND MAKE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMMUNITIES THAT SEEK TO IMPROVE THEIR ECONOMIES”

“(...) culture is life and change.”

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Edric Ong, in the debate The Role of Culture and the Arts in Development Programs.

“Each place has its own process, each place has its own format.”

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João Pimentel, in the debate Challenges for Cultural Management in the Municipalities

“We have always talked about art and culture, but culture is not only art.”

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Sebastião Soares, in the debate Challenges for Cultural Management in the Municipalities

“Culture came to transgress. It came to say, I exist, he exists, we exist, we want, we are, we are capable.”

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Altair Moreira, in the debate Challenges for Cultural Management in the Municipalities

“We don’t need to convince anybody anymore that there is a connection between culture and development.”

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Âmbar de Oliveira Barros, in the debate The Role of Culture and the Arts in Development Programs.

“Technology also comes in the play here because as technology ensures that, there’s new forms of distribution, new forms of production, we find other aspects of trade agreements really have nothing to do with cultural (...) visual service begin to have effect on culture.”

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Garry Neil, in the From exploitation standards to solidarity models debate

(...) in Africa, when we speak of culture, we have to speak of politics.

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Margone Niang, in the associated activity Afro-globalization

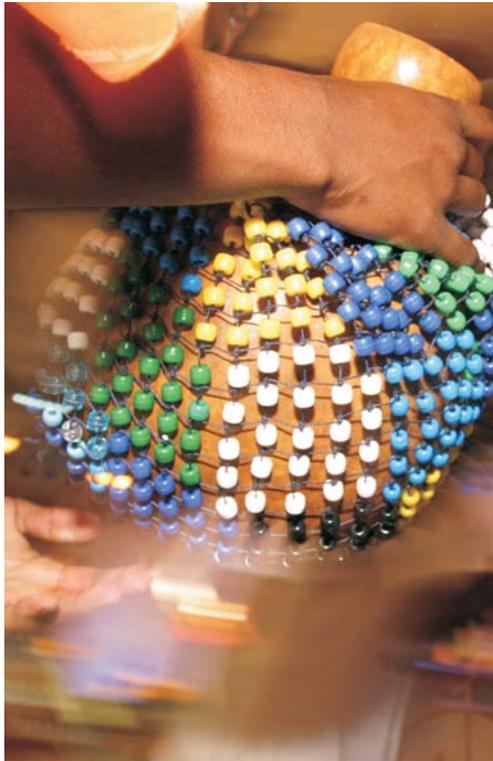
**Can the countries of the South appropriate the new information technologies in favor of unincorporated knowledge?**

**How do we create opportunities to increase the exchange offers in the South?**

**How do we share systematized information for diagnosis, evaluation and capacitation?**







“THE ECONOMIC PHENOMENON AND, BEYOND THIS, THE SOCIAL ONE, OF ‘WORLDIZATION’, FINDS ITS GENESIS IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.”

(...) My purpose is to deal with “worldization” and its repercussions on dominated cultures. We must, in this sense, question the discourses about “worldization.” The rationality that these economic discourses demand rest on a conception of the world that is based on calculation and through calculation, on profit at any price, in detriment of the man and of the culture, going through the destruction of all the civilizational conquests, including therewith those of classic liberalism whose neo-liberal policies speak for themselves. The economic phenomenon and, beyond this, the social one, of “worldization,” finds its genesis in the history of Europe. The conquest of the markets in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the colonizations of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, will be largely written up in the historical process in which the countries of Europe threw themselves into a frenzied race in search of raw materials – cocoa, sugar, tea, coffee, cotton – things that only the countries of the south had to offer. History can, in this way, serve to delineate the discourses on “worldization,” which passes for the panacea of current queasiness, while it is only reinterpreting an already old role in the guise and dress of actuality and modernity, with a marked effect on the cultures of the most less-favored. One can add the opinion of a certain sociologist woman that is in guard against the restoration that passes itself off as a revolution. The term restoration is here taken to have the meaning of restore, that is to go back to the *Ancien régime* (Old regime, normally used in the French version). Restoration would be an archaism under the cloak of universalistic ideology. There are, thus, local archaisms that re-emerge in benefit of an economic and political crisis. Precisely, if the “worldization” wants to be what it intends to be, that is, circulation and in some way exchange, it will not achieve this without minimally respecting the rules that permit

guaranteeing the safety of persons, of groups, of institutions and also of the environment. To overcome that which might severely penalize the most dispossessed, we will need to wait for the occurrence of a boomerang effect, which should be extended to the promoters of “worldization.”

I will try to speak, very quickly, about these cultures of the South and how this economic “worldization” is going to try to impose itself as a type of cultural model. This concept of the world and of society intends to succeed a civilization that was born a short while ago and has not become generalized. This current civilization did not emerge out of nothing; it was born (as Pierre Bourdieu wrote) out of violent struggles to require the elementary right to existence that is part of a civilization, that of this century; a civilization associated to the existence of public services, of equality, of the right to an education, to health, to culture, to research and, consequently, to all work.

It is in this sense that international integration may lead to national disintegration, resulting in unemployment, poverty, exclusion of the most disfavored and the loss of conquest of precisely those that fought to universalize a model. For certain societies in Europe, like the Swedish, the Belgian, the Danish, this is evidently a regression. Behind this deregulation and this liberalization that are in course, we are seeing an unprecedented weakening of the State and, in truth, a weakened governing capacity.

After all, on a worldwide level, we don’t have regulation of protection or guarantee policies that could serve somewhat as a model for supranational states. Thus, on the cultural level, in all the cases related to the countries of the South, one cannot speak of a culture but, frequently, of the

“(…) ONE CANNOT SPEAK OF A CULTURE BUT, FREQUENTLY, OF THE COEXISTENCE OF VARIOUS LANGUAGES, VARIOUS CULTURES THAT HAVE BECOME INBRED THROUGH A LONG PROCESS.”

coexistence of various languages, various cultures that have become inbred through a long process.

The North of Africa, for example, has an oft-millenarian civilization, open to the Mediterranean, to all of Africa and to Asia Minor. We are not dealing with a country, but with a subcontinent, that very early on had to confront real wars, both cultural and religious. The latter is called cultural oppression, or even alienation, much more effective when exercised for a long time and under the ignorance of those that live in it. The case of the North of Africa is illuminating, because it perfectly illustrates this phenomenon that, from the Carthaginians to the French, observes the occurrences of cultural “additions” at each conquest. There were, in all, seven of them. And this phenomenon resulted in the Islamization and the “Arabization” of this region. The conquest was not simply a political conquest, but it was one of conquest of space, of economic goods, and, as in the case of the Romans, by the way, also a conquest of souls.

The ancient populations of these regions called themselves *Berbers*; they go back to the ancient Egyptians, Mesopotamians or Chaldees, that is, they belong to a world that had its own recognized civilizations, and that is going to progressively blend into the dominating order. For certain regions, this merger has been total; for others partial. For example, in the Canary Islands, the Berber culture disappeared in less than a century. It was like that in Tunisia, in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, where 1% of population lost its tongue. On the other hand, this language and culture have survived in Libya, in Algeria, in Morocco, in the Sub-Saharan regions, Mali, Niger, Chad, etc.

We are, therefore, dealing with civilizations and with an ancient

African culture that, in the face of dominations, had to survive them because they were far from the centers of power and of official culture, while they sought refuge in the mountains, in the oases and in the islands. And to reproduce themselves, these populations turned necessity into virtue; that is, they chose between staying and living as they were or opening themselves up to the dominating culture and negotiating their existence with the powers-that-be. It was thus, for example, that the autochthones learned Latin under the Roman occupation, converting to Christianity and thus put themselves at the service of the Roman civilization, denying their own African culture. Thus it was with Saint Augustine, Cyprian, as well as others that gave so much to Christianity.

This African dimension did not appear with the Moslems when they came to hunt the Romans. They made this region into an extension of Arabia. Again, we watched a religious campaign that was cultural at the same time. The Berbers then, in the cities and in the plains, became Islamized and progressively followed the Arabs and again placed aside important elements of their culture and identity. The more that technology is advanced, the more the methods of the dominators seek to impose and are ever more effective. And thus it was with the French colonization that brought about more disasters than all the preceding ones.

It is important therefore to know that the Berber culture in the North of Africa underwent double discrimination. Marginalized for such a long time it must again face a new colonization that will lead it to drastic social and cultural change. I speak, obviously, of the French presence...

The *Cabyles* of Algeria and the *Berbers* of Morocco are going to see rural exodus and immigration. The *Tuaregs*, of the

“THE MORE THAT TECHNOLOGY IS ADVANCED, THE MORE THE METHODS OF THE DOMINATORS SEEK TO IMPOSE AND ARE EVER MORE EFFECTIVE.”

South, are going to see their territories divided into five states and will be deprived of their own way of existence, based on nomadism because of the pastures, their flocks and their transactions with neighboring regions. In this way, it is this model of an imported Nation-State, through colonization, that will serve after the independences.

Of course I speak of colonization. Can one compare colonization and globalization? *A priori*, no, if we base ourselves on the methods, but the effects can be the same if we stick to the economic theory of the colonialists, for whom, at the same time, their own interests were above all the rest. What is interesting is to remember that both yesterday and today there was an extremely liberal economic policy, advantageous to the colonists, that was imposed without using the social and cultural conditions of the colonized. Why? Because in Algeria, for example, it was always thought, then as well as now, that Algerian economic backwardness was the backwardness of a civilization, that is, connected to the inferiority of the race. Underdevelopment was thus a consequence of a genetic incapacity of the colonized, while serious efforts would show the contrary, that is, that the ways of the traditional economy performed better than those imposed by the colonization, because these are accompanied by the mechanism of an intensive culture, while the traditional policies were more minority, however, at any rate, more adapted to their means.

These *paysans* (more or less equivalent to “peasants” in English), described by Pierre Bourdieu and Abdel (without his last name in the original), had a knowledge of their world that reposed not only on economic forms but also on symbolic forms of the economy. And, evidently, this view suggested practices that seemed anti-economical to the

colonizers, but which were very efficient for the group. They might not have had money, but they had enough through internal exchange strategies to avoid poverty.

To speed things up a bit, these analyses of traditional society showed the coherence of the traditional system and, on the other side, the irrupting of a savage capitalism that would destroy the bases, not only of the traditional economy but above all cause this destruction by introducing currency and economic practices that were not adapted to their situation.

Experience thus showed that the passage from one system to the other could not happen overnight without causing immense damage, which Algeria suffers from until today. “Monetarization” led to the division of the big family, of property, favored the mobility from the field to the city and the loss of their culture – this is what I am speaking of today – the loss of the language, the customs, the dietary habits, etc.; the liberal colonial view in its promise of universality only put its own model in place over groups that had no choice but to submit or to flee into affliction and into melancholy.

The uprooted peasants would change their way of living, repudiating their former way of living in favor of others more in conformity with those of the colonizers. It was in this way that many groups lost their songs, dances, rites and myths, because these customs witness to the past that wants to be erased to be in conformity with the dominating culture, and the misfortune (or sad thing) is that these states of false independence will impose this same modernity and this same view of rationality. It is useless to say just how inappropriate this opposition between modernity, tradition and rationality is here.

“(…) ALL ECONOMIC CHOICE IS ALSO A POLITICAL CHOICE AND, INEVITABLY, SOCIAL, IN THAT THE SOCIAL WILL GIVE SIGNIFICANCE TO THIS CHOICE, LEGITIMIZING IT BY ITS PRACTICES, WAYS OF DOING, OF THINKING (…)”

In Algeria, for example, political volunteerism has managed to do in forty years of independence what all the colonizations could not do in several millennia. Why? Because the phenomenon of depersonalization connected to the *Berber* is going to partially disappear from Algeria’s official panorama. If I insist on this point, it is to warn against all that one can newly produce in a conscious way, that is, of voluntary collaboration, or then in an unconscious way, linked to passivity, to indifference, or simply to lack of control over one’s destiny.

I said above that it would be necessary to place a “safety cordon” or “protection tapes” that would permit national entities or regions to ensure the control of the commercial and financial transactions towards true social protection, for example, the right to work, to time off, to insurance plans, etc.; otherwise, we will see a real catastrophe with grave occurrences on the social, political and cultural levels.

In the political domain, it is evident that the poorest people are already militarized and will continue to be so in the future, especially if the military don’t have any say over the country’s assents in a certain way over the populations. We don’t exclude this – it is a hypothesis – but militarization may be the only response to be given in certain cases in order to preserve order, provide jobs, dwelling or culture.

This concept of culture – that which has brought me to be among you today – we will find it again in almost the same terms as given by Lévi-Strauss in relation to this country, to this land which is Brazil in his *“Race et histoire”* (*“Race and history”*). In this work, he wrote, “there is not and there cannot be a world civilization in the absolute sense given to this term, seeing that civilization implies that coexistence of

cultures that offer each other maximum diversity, and it itself consists in this coexistence.” World civilization would not be anything else than that linkage on worldwide scale that would preserve each one in its originality. It is annihilation of any kind of system, especially that which affects the economy, but that we know since the 15<sup>th</sup> Century that it also affects the culture, and as Isabel the Catholic said in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (...), thus, all economic choice is also a political choice and, inevitably, social, in that the social will give significance to this choice, legitimizing it by its practices, ways of doing, of thinking. The legitimate culture always belongs to the dominant, and to be efficient it needs to be recognized by some as well as by others, but for this, it must enroll in a worldview in order to go through the phenomenon that goes out from itself to the eyes of the one exercising it, but also to the eyes of the one that is suffering it. This shows how very important the concept of culture is.

I can go back, thus, if you want, to Lévi-Strauss and to this view of culture that implies diversity and it is precisely this diversity that allows us to distinguish them and appreciate them in their singularity, in their difference. Both the great and the small cultures need to be differentiated in order to organize themselves, in the same way that they need to combat, to imitate, to coexist with or without difficulty, because they must, imperatively, survive, because this is needful for groups and for the means.

The writings of eminent scholars alluded to the problem of “cultural erosion” suffered by the colonized peoples of Africa, Asia and America with the wars and the occupations. However, to fully understand these phenomena, we must keep in mind some of the reflections of Simone Weil – the philosopher – made in the forties and that, remembering

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the situation of the Spanish and the British with respect to the Indians, called the attention of the colonizers to their responsibilities in that moment of massive destruction of identities and of cultures. Simone Weil, equally then, made the same consideration about internal uprooting, that is, the centralizing governments like, for example, the French government, that provoked the same “de-culturization” in the provincial inhabitants (*les provinciaux*), the peasants (*les paysans*), when they would be found crowded together.

The same happens with “worldization” on the cultural, social and political level. *Pourquoi?* Simply because it is based on one ideology. And I cannot leave off referring to a great man that might have been amongst us today but who, unfortunately, no longer belongs to this world: Pierre Bourdieu. He would say that the neoliberal ideological force reposes on a type of neoDarwinism, that which I said before about the purpose of the colonizers and about genetic inferiority... “according to this social neoDarwinism, it is the best and the most brilliant that triumph. And it is under this “worldization” view, he writes, this international vision of the dominants, that there is a philosophy of competency, according to which it is the most competent that govern, that is, those that have work. This implies that those who do not have work are not competent. There are thus the winners and the losers, this minority that constitutes nobility in the medieval sense of the term, in the sense that they owe their authority to education, that is, to intelligence, an intelligence conceived as a gift from heaven and that we know, in truth, to be spread throughout society, with intelligence inequalities representing social inequalities.

Thus, even if there is no meticulously established program, those that speak of “worldization” are those that have an interest in this. The fact of being enrolled there is also a way of believing that they constitute themselves by means of their culture, their stature, their economy with exportable models. In this case, those that feel obligated to become economically and socially integrated are going in the direction of an inevitable disintegration on the cultural level, because they are obliged to respond to the expectations of those who advocate the model of excellence. In South Korea, where I was ten days ago, there is a real economic process going on that can no doubt serve, and why not, as a model for many countries in Asia and in Africa. No matter how little one observes, it is possible to see precisely that the economic model and also the social and cultural model are founded on great exploitation. Both on the economic and on the cultural level we observe surprising references such as in architecture and even more in the way of being. What can one say, for example, of an economic and social struggle, especially of women – and we know all about the problem of women, who are dominated by the dominated – that is going to try to whiten skin, change the format of eyes or even change the format of the body. Whatever may be, therefore, the extent of these phenomena, even when minimum, they seem very important because they allow us to show the significance of the dominant model as to its self-definition.

Even at the risk of seeming pessimistic, it seems to me that it is almost always impossible to heal cultural ruptures, seeing that we are dealing with rebuilding on top of a traumatism. Research into cultural references is what best characterizes

“TO PROGRESS MEN MUST COLLABORATE AND, IN THIS COLLABORATION, THEY WILL GRADUALLY SEE IDENTIFIED THE CONTRIBUTIONS WHOSE INITIAL DIVERSITY WAS PRECISELY WHAT RENDERED THEIR AID PRODUCTIVE AND NECESSARY”

our societies: the more we are confronted with change through force and without resources, the more we will find ourselves facing pathologies that originate in wars of the colonial type. If it is true that (...), as Simone Weil wrote, it is completely legitimate to understand how colonial-type wars used Senegalese and Magrebins to dominate Indochina and to participate in the disintegration of others.

All this simply to say that a new economic order brings along a new culture that does not repose on anything and that promotes he who has success. I cannot conclude without going back once more to what Lévi-Strauss wrote about this fifty years ago: “Whoever he may be, it is difficult to represent in any way but contradictory a process that we can summarize in the following manner: to progress men must collaborate

and, in this collaboration, they will gradually see identified the contributions whose initial diversity was precisely what rendered their aid productive and necessary. Even if this contradiction cannot be solved, the sacred duty of humanity is to conserve the two ends of this equally present in the spirit, to never let one out of sight for the exclusive profit of the other, to avoid, without doubt, a blind particularism that would tend to preserve the privilege of humanity for one race, one culture or one society, but also to never forget that no fraction of humanity disposes of formulas applicable to the whole and that humanity confounded into one kind of single life is inconceivable because it would be a rigid humanity.” And this is my final word.

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Tassadit Yassine, in the debate Culture and Social Development: Sharing Responsibilities.

THE LACK OF CONDITIONS FOR ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL COMPREHENSION, WHICH REQUIRE DECADES OF TRAINING, AS WELL AS THE LOSS OF CONCEPTUAL INSTRUMENTS TO DEAL WITH SCHOOL DROPOUTISM, AND THE SCARCITY OF COMPLEX AND LASTING CULTURAL STIMULI ARE NOT RESOLVED BY INSTALLING COMPUTERS IN A FEW THOUSAND SCHOOLS AND FORECASTING THE MAGICAL EFFECTS OF THE INTERNET ON THE REST. GUSTS OF GLOBALIZATION CANNOT TECHNOCRATICALLY COMPENSATE POLICIES THAT ARE, THEREFORE, FINALLY ELIMINATORY.

(...) THE DECISIVE RESPONSE OF THESE ALLIANCES OF POOR MINORITIES IS THE SOLIDARITY OF THE CITIZENS. THUS, TO INTEGRATE LATIN AMERICA WILL BE A 'UTOPIA' BETWEEN IRONIC OR CYNICAL QUOTATION MARKS, AS LONG AS INDIGENOUS WORKERS, CONSUMERS, SCIENTISTS, ARTISTS AND CULTURAL PRODUCERS DO NOT ARTICULATE THEMSELVES; WHILE WE DO NOT PUT ON OUR AGENDA FORMS OF LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP THAT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHTS OF ALL WHO PRODUCE WITHOUT DIGNITY INSIDE OR BEYOND THEIR BIRTH LANDS.